A Review of

NEGRO SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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One of a series of research papers on problems of interest to youth and students.

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Introduction

In many lands and at many periods, intolerance, discrimination, ostracism, sometimes downright persecution, have been the unhappy lot of certain minority groups. The stamp of rejection takes many forms; for some it is color; for some, religion; for some, national origin; for some, kind of employment or level of formal education. Rejection of such groups by those who enjoy greater rights and privileges is usually capricious and illogical at the outset. But it is also self-perpetuating, in that the rejected group, through continued deprivation, is hardened in the very shortcomings, whether real or imaginary, that are given as the reasons for discrimination in the first place. Indignation gives way to apathy; denied the rights of citizenship, an individual is slow to exercise its responsibilities.

Most of the world's great religions teach that all human beings are alike in having innate worth and dignity. They teach that, properly nurtured, each person is capable of high levels of self-development in both mind and spirit. When intolerance and discrimination take the place of brotherhood and acceptance of the individual at his true worth, this capacity for self-development is almost inevitably repressed or destroyed.

Throughout the United States today, in communities all across the country, there is active and growing concern that civil rights be extended unequivocally to all citizens. In schools, factories, public forums, courtrooms and legislative halls; in newspapers and magazines; on radio and television; people are talking, writing, working and legislating on problems of racial equality. Through education, persuasion, ordinance, law, and sometimes the threat of police action, its principles are gathering new strength, and becoming a guiding force in our national life.

Not all of this feverish activity is in one direction, however. For too many decades, Negro Americans lived under the blight of laws and customs generated in a slave society, and allowed to harden by a nation engrossed in the business of growing up. As a result, some white Americans today are working to maintain the status quo, seeking desperately to hold back a tide that will not be contained. Their noisy tactics, unfortunately, make better news stories than the quiet efforts of others, far outnumbering them, who go determinedly forward, knowing that in this great campaign, white and Negro Americans together will not stop short of the full reality of emancipation. "The century-long lag of public morals," as Gunnar Myrdal puts it in "The American Dilemma," is finally being caught up.

Concepts of human dignity and human rights are old in the records of man's thought, but young in the acceptance men have accorded them.

Today, given new vigor by the tremendous advances of our century in scientific knowledge and technological skills, these concepts come accompanied by demands for more of life's abundance and greater opportunities for all individuals, regardless of race, creed or nationality.

This is the meaning of much that is happening in many of the less-developed countries of the world today. It is also the basis of much that is happening in the United States, where the Constitution and Bill of Rights long ago promised all Americans equal rights and opportunities for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

To understand why these privileges were so long withheld from the Negro, one must consider the vital statistics of the country itself; the era in which it was born, the violence of its birthpangs, the rapidity with which it grew, the pressures that thrust it early into a place of prominence among the nations of the world.

Unwilling Immigrants

When the thirteen American colonies rebelled against Great Britain late in the eighteenth century, slave trading was still common practice among the colonial powers. Introduced into the United States by the British, the first shipload of slaves was brought to the Virginia colony in 1619, even before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. By the time emancipation was proclaimed in 1863, through continuation of the trade and natural increase, there were nearly 4,000,000 slaves in the country. A long series of national and international measures had to be enacted before the trade could be stamped out, even in the western world. Among these were Denmark's royal order of 1792, the Congress of Vienna's agreement on principle of 1814, and the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, under the terms of which Great Britain, France and the United States jointly policed the west coast of Africa.

The first direct national action for the abolition of slavery took place in the British Parliament in 1833, though the act did not become effective until 1838. France, Sweden and India, among others, followed suit, acting before the United States did; others, including Brazil, Cuba and Abyssinia, did not accede until later.

The Founding Fathers of the United States were strongly opposed to slavery; it was forbidden in the Northwest Territory by the ordinance of 1787, and abolished in the northeast by a series of state laws. In the agricultural South, however, the invention of the cotton gin in 1792 made slave labor more vital than ever to the prosperity of that region. Cotton, tobacco, sugar and rice were the principal agricultural crops in the South, and a plantation economy, based on slavery, had been dominant in the economic and social life of the region since the early days of the colonies.

But with the world-wide transition from mercantilism to a form of industrial capitalism, the plantations faced a slow extinction. The cotton gin appeared, providentially, to keep the South's economy competitive, but only if the institution of slavery were preserved.

In the North, humanitarian and social principles led to the formation of the Abolitionists. They knew little about actual conditions in the South and were fighting, not for economic reform, but for quasi-religious ideals and a true democracy. The small northern farmer feared slavery as a threat to his proprietorship; people of culture in the North abhorred slavery as an unmitigated evil. The South, anxious to preserve its system, drifted from smoldering resentment to a more bellicose defense. The whole question, involving the very existence of Southern society as then organized, was the dominant one in U.S. history from 1830 to 1860. In the victory of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for president in 1860, the South saw a threat to its cherished institutions, and to achieve independence, they turned to secession and the formation of the Confederacy.

The American Civil War, fought to maintain the union and to abolish slavery, left unaltered the psychological outlook of whites in the beaten states of the South; they continued to cling to the "dominant race" ideas of the slave society and plantation economy on which it had been built. For many, slavery remained the natural order, and the obvious economic advantages such a system gave to the dominant group reinforced this attitude. Even among Northerners who subscribed to emancipation, great numbers still held to the notion that Negroes were inherently and unchangeably inferior to whites.

The prevailing atmosphere was further clouded by politics and ignorance. When politicians, both North and South, sought the Negro vote, ideas of white supremacy seemed forgotten. At other times, the external conditions of Negro life were taken as support for the arguments of the racists; at such times everyone forgot who had imposed these conditions on the Negroes. There were many, too, who sincerely doubted the wisdom of emancipation, pointing to the fact that recent slaves, whose grandfathers had perhaps been African savages, who could not read a line of print, and who had spent their whole lives in the cotton fields, were given a full voice in choosing public officers and making laws.

Conflicting elements, ranging from the high Christian idealism of the Abolitionists to the despair and hatred of the ruined southern plantation owners, thus made up the emotional climate of the United States in the years following the Civil War. The ex-slaves themselves were torn in many directions, buffeted between a Congress trying to give them

citizen status and a white South determined to keep them in pre-war political and economic subordination. Moreover, "they were preyed upon by rascals of both sides," as Stephen Vincent Benet wrote in "America." In essence, then, these were the cross-currents which, shaping the history of race relations in the United States, have never entirely died down.

Despite all the efforts to hold them back, however, Negroes made remarkable progress in the two decades immediately following the Civil War. Prior to emancipation, several hundred thousand had either been given their freedom or had freed themselves, but had acquired little else. They had no standing in court, no right to assemble, little freedom of movement and hardly any access to education. Then emancipation set nearly ten times as many free. To make certain that the 4,000,000 newly freed men fared no better, the southern state legislatures put through the so-called "black codes," or "peonage laws," as quickly as the legislative process permitted. Louisiana forbade Negroes to move about in certain parishes or to be out at night without special permits. Mississippi prevented them from buying or leasing land except in incorporated towns, thus closing off any possibility of independent livelihood to those whose only experience was in farming. South Carolina said they had to be farmers or domestic servants, unless specially licensed to do otherwise.

But Congress, determined to stamp out slavery even in its softened forms, established a Freedmen's Bureau in 1865 and allocated funds which, during the next five years, built more than 4,000 elementary schools having an enrollment of 250,000 pupils, provided relief, vocational help and guidance, and assisted the ex-slaves generally to establish themselves on their own. Because the Bureau was set up to aid only Negroes, the schools it built were segregated. Although some churches, particularly in the North, had inter-racial congregations, a pattern of segregated worship was quickly established as well. To a large extent, this was on the initiative of the Negroes themselves, who choose to withdraw in the face of the whites' open hostility to their presence. In the military services, even though Negroes had served in earlier wars side by side with whites, the Civil War inaugurated a segregation pattern that was not to be broken down until the decade of World War II.

In 1866, however, just one year after the Civil War ended, the Civil Rights Bill, passed over President Johnson's veto, made freedmen citizens of the United States, with the same civil rights as white persons. At this time, too, Congress submitted to the states for ratification the Fourteenth Amendment, which extended to all the protection of due process of law and the right to vote. This first Civil Rights Bill, held to be of doubtful constitutionality, was re-enacted in 1870.

Thus enfranchised, Negro Americans began to exercise the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. They voted, and did so in fairly large numbers. In the two decades following emancipation, they sent twenty-six representatives to Congress and were represented in all southern state legislatures. They held public office as trial justices, served as jurors and as county and state commissioners, were active in business and formed strong political associations.

In the face of this phenomenal progress, the attitude of some southern states softened, and there was even a slight easing of the "black codes" here and there. The principle that an individual's rights in court should not be affected by race or color was affirmed, either through the repeal of old legislation or the enactment of new. In South Carolina, the Constitution of 1868 provided for a system of universal education; in those southern states where Negroes formed an important part of the electorate, the education of Negro children was placed on a basis of equality, in the law at least, with that of white children.

By 1879, when Sir George Campbell, a member of the British Parliament, toured the South, he was greatly impressed by the freedom of association between the races, and by the extent of Negro political activity. He commented later, "The humblest black rides with the proudest white on terms of perfect equality, and without the smallest symptom of malice or dislike on either side. I was, I confess, surprised to see how completely this was the case; even an English Radical is a little taken aback at first." Another observer reported seeing, "a colored clergyman in his surplice seated in the chancel of the most important white Episcopal church in New Orleans, assisting in the service."

In the words of C. Vann Woodward, Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University, "In a time when the Negroes formed a much larger proportion of the population than they did later, when slavery was a live memory in the minds of both races, and when the memory of the hardships and bitterness of Reconstruction was still fresh, the race policies accepted and pursued in the South were sometimes milder than they became later. The policies of proscription, segregation and disfranchisement that are often described as the immutable folkways of the South . . . are of more recent origin. The effort to justify them as a consequence of Reconstruction and a necessity of the times is embarrassed by the fact that they did not originate in those times. And the belief that they are immutable and unchangeable is not supported by history."

These facts come to mind when, as recently as 1956, 101 United States Congressmen signed a Southern Manifesto, protesting the Supreme Court decision on desegregation as a violation of "southern tradition."

Emancipation Brings Limited Freedom

Pressures against Negro equality rapidly gathered force during the post-Civil War period. To some extent, no doubt, they were increased by the very advances made by the newly freed slaves; just as, in our own day, growing evidence of harmonious integration has intensified resistance in certain parts of the deep South to the Supreme Court's decisions concerning desegregation.

During the second period of Reconstruction following the Civil War, white southerners felt a deep bitterness against the Federal Government, which was maintaining emancipation and preserving the unity of the nation by military occupation of the defeated states. The prevailing rancor was sharpened by agricultural depressions which aggravated the already widespread poverty, and by corruption in government following upon the dislocations of war, which was practiced by both races and both parties at all levels. The crowning frustration for southern plantation owners was to witness the expanding economy of the North and Midwest, which not only completely bypassed the South, but also attracted large numbers of young Negroes from that region, thus threatening its hitherto inexhaustible labor supply. Tensions mounted, and such intransigent elements as the Ku Klux Klan and Knights of the White Camellia found ready and numerous followers.

When the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, declaring that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," it was done only under strong protest by the Confederate states, and only because they had to ratify it as a condition of their readmission to representation in Congress.

Congress, undaunted, passed another Civil Rights Bill in 1875, which declared that all places of public accommodation and public amusement were to be made available on an equal basis to all persons, regardless of race or color. But two years later, when Federal troops were finally withdrawn from the South, the fate of the Negroes and their newly granted civil rights was left in the hands of their former masters.

Segregation Takes Hold

A few isolated statutes directed at continued segregation had already appeared by this time, but "Jim Crow" laws got their real start in 1881 with a Tennessee ruling requiring separate accommodations for the two races in railroad cars. And eight years later, the Civil Rights Bill of 1875, which had been violated with impunity from the beginning, was declared unconstitutional on the ground that questions concerning the treatment of Negroes in transportation and public accommodations did not actually

involve civil rights. Now segregationists knew that the doctrine of white supremacy was again in the ascendant. In a broad wave of statutes whose momentum reached into the first two decades of the twentieth century, disfranchisement, social ostracism and, finally, general segregation engulfed the Negroes of the South.

Even then, however, there were voices raised in protest. In 1897, when the Jim Crow movement was well underway, a Charleston, South Carolina, newspaper commented that "the common-sense and proper arrangement, in our opinion, is to provide first-class cars for first-class people, white and colored . . . To speak plainly, we need, as everybody knows, separate cars or apartments for rowdy or drunken white passengers far more than Jim Crow cars for colored passengers." The Populist Party, a short-lived political movement of the 1890's, campaigned against segregation and appealed to Negroes and whites on the basis of common need. When a Negro member who had toured the countryside making speeches was threatened with lynching, two thousand white farmers answered his call for protection.

But the rising tide was not to be stemmed by an occasional isolated voice. By 1909, a southern white minister said that legal segregation "made our eating and drinking, our buying and selling, our labor and housing, our rents, our railroads, our orphanages and prisons, our very institutions of religion, a problem of race as well as a problem of maintenance." The final sanction had been given by the highest court in the land in 1896, when the Supreme Court, in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities. For more than thirty years, that doctrine was not again challenged in the courts.

It was not only that the North had abandoned its crusade against slavery. The whole nation was trying to heal the wounds of "war, destruction, defeat, hysteria," and in the ensuing scramble, as Maurice R. Davie relates in "Negroes in American Society," "the Negro served as a scapegoat, for in addition to being the immediate fact at issue, he was the only really practical victim . . . By law the Negro was changed at once from slave to freedman, with full rights of citizenship. Actually, he was transferred from slavery to serfdom, or a kind of second-class citizenship. The control of the mores and the realities of the situation proved to be stronger than legal enactments."

Specifically, "while the wall of segregation was being mortared tight in the South, a similar if less dramatic process was going on almost everywhere else in the nation," Harry Ashmore asserts in "The Negro and the Schools." "Negroes were still few in the non-South, and they generally enjoyed the right of franchise. But the religious fervor of the

Abolitionist era was fading, to be replaced by a prevailing conservatism in racial matters. Wherever Negroes concentrated in sizable numbers, they ran into social and economic pressures which forced them to live apart from the white community, and sometimes this de facto segregation was bolstered by law."

The Tide of Protest Rises

In "An American Dilemma — The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy", the Swedish economist and sociologist Gunnar Myrdal points out, "America's handling of the Negro problem has been criticized most emphatically by white Americans since long before the Revolution, and the criticism has gone steadily on and will not stop until America has completely reformed itself." The opposition was neither strong nor organized, but it showed itself from the very beginning.

Concern for the plight of the freedmen was manifested early in the many offers of private assistance the Freedmen's Bureau received from organizations and individuals, some of whom formed Freedmen's Aid Societies. Outstanding was the work of church groups, whose members not only sent funds to build free schools for Negroes but, in many cases, went south themselves to teach the newly emancipated. Out of this movement came some of America's finest colleges and universities, both Negro and white. Late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth, several great philanthropic foundations contributed to Negro education and welfare, notably the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Carnegie Corporation and the General Education Board of John D. Rockefeller. In 1944, thirty-one private Negro colleges, all but one located in the South, launched the United Negro College Fund. The wide support received from both races has enabled this body, through its scholarship aid, to make higher education possible for thousands who could not otherwise go to college.

Such voluntary aid on the part of individuals, church groups, and the philanthropic trusts has necessarily been carried on, it is true, within the framework of segregated living. It is also true that, as more and more organizations began to take an interest in Negro Americans, their efforts, with few exceptions, continued to be directed toward bettering existing conditions rather than breaking down the segregation which caused these conditions. Nevertheless, out of these organizations and their supporters have come the forces which are today joined in a mighty effort to roll back the walls of segregation itself.

The tremendous number of organizations in the United States owe their existence to the American habit of getting together, of pooling efforts in the pursuit of a common goal. There are church auxiliaries, school

Everett Frederic Morrow, pictured in his Washington office, came to his position as a member of President Eisenhower's executive staff from a background of distinguished service.

alumni, parent-teacher associations, professional societies, youth groups, social clubs, civic improvement agencies, committees for the dissemination of this and the prevention of that. As living became more complex and the social structures more interdependent, it became obvious, in many cases, that the interests of one group could not be furthered without at the same time advancing those of others similarly placed. Different organizations began to cooperate toward the same goals. Coordinating councils arose in municipality, county and state; national headquarters were set up to act as clearing houses for local units. Thus, as organizations multiplied and branched out, the nation became a veritable network of alert citizens, surveying situations, initiating studies, educating for action.

As a matter of fact, it is on the basis of what he calls American society's "huge institutional structures" that Gunnar Myrdal, in the book already cited, explains the American phenomenon of a race prejudice that increases at certain levels of the nation's life at the same time that it steadily decreases on the broad general level. He points out that, "The American Creed of progress, liberty, equality and humanitarianism is not so influential on everyday life as it might appear . . . institutional structures in their operation show an accommodation to local and temporary interests and prejudices . . . they could not be expected to do otherwise, as they are made up of individuals with all their local and temporary characteristics. As institutions they are, however, devoted to certain broad ideals. It is in these institutions that the American Creed has its instruments; it plays upon them as on mighty organs . . . When the man in the street acts through his orderly collective bodies, he acts more as an American, as a Christian, and as a humanitarian than if he were acting independently. He thus shapes social controls which are going to condition even himself."

Thus it came about that, on the initiative of white Americans, the inter-racial National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League were organized, in 1909 and 1910 respectively. There were other Negro protest groups, but these two organizations, with unswerving purpose, continued to gather strength, emerging at mid-century as the leading American movements in their respective fields.

The National Urban League was formed by the merger of three social work groups, and has remained primarily a social service agency. When it was formed, the problems it faced for the Negro were stark and crude: "how to get jobs — any jobs; how to get housing — any housing; how to get started with the rudiments of health, recreation and vocational guidance programs; how to get municipalities and social agencies to

assume proper responsibility for the needs of all people without regard for race or color."

Today the Urban League has sixty-one branches in thirty of the fifty states, and prominent American leaders in all fields, Negro and white, sit on its executive and governing councils. Its nationwide program is concentrated in four major areas: Industrial Relations, Vocational Guidance, Community Services and Housing, and is guided by such groups as the Commerce and Industry Council, whose members represent a cross-section of business and industry leadership, and the Trade Union Committee, composed of representatives of well-known national and international unions.

In discussions with corporation heads and officials of labor unions, the League presses for wider employment of Negroes. Through community guidance programs it prepares Negro youth for better jobs. In cooperation with the National Housing Conference, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and other agencies, the League works for integration in housing, and has achieved marked success in many real estate developments throughout the country. Community services provide health and welfare consultation services in broad areas of the Far West and South. The Urban League's program is further aided by the educational, cultural and social activities of the inter-racial National Urban League Guild, founded in 1942 to work for community understanding and support of the National Urban League programs.

On the occasion of its forty-fifth anniversary several years ago, the League, with the help of noted sociologists, carried out a reappraisal of its methods and goals. During the three-day conference, it was brought out that opportunities for the Negro are expanding in many areas of national life, providing new scope for his training and skills. However, it was also emphasized that due to inferior training, education, housing and community facilities, far too many Negroes are still unable to take advantage of these opportunities.

On June 19, 1956, the League's national headquarters moved into a building of its own, made possible by a gift from Winthrop Rockefeller, Chairman of the League's Commerce and Industry Council. At the dedication ceremonies two children were present, one white and the other Negro; both were great-grandsons of original founders of the League. These children symbolized by their presence the continuing determination of Americans to equalize the rights and privileges guaranteed to all Americans under the Constitution.

Denial of the Negroes' civil rights, widespread as it is today, was considerably worse when the Urban League and the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People were first organized. From the start, the latter bent its efforts to a lessening of the inequities frequently suffered by Negro offenders before the law. Entering the courtroom on behalf of individual prisoners, NAACP members defended them against police brutality and third degree methods of forcing confessions. Not infrequently they were successful in gaining acquittal when it was due, and often were able to have unduly severe penalties reduced.

Gradually the NAACP moved into the more challenging area of the higher courts. From the outset, Negro leaders understood that the second-class citizenship status of their race was not due to this country's national policy, but rather to an invasion by other groups of their rights as citizens, rights guaranteed them in the same Constitution which governs all Americans. As an invasion of their rights, it could, therefore, be challenged in the courts, and this is what Negroes have been doing since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The NAACP concentrated its efforts in three fields: legal, legislative and political, and educational. The lawsuits it handled were undertaken to uphold the constitutional principle of equal rights, and the organization entered only when the defendant or plaintiff was being deprived of his legal rights on the basis of race alone. The NAACP fought peonage, lynching and the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South; it worked for equality of school accommodations for the students and of salary scales for teachers; for equal transportation facilities and equal public accommodations. In all this, education toward an aroused social consciousness played a powerful role. The many campaigns on behalf of federal anti-lynching never brought a federal law, but the public was educated to the evils of mob action, and lynching has all but disappeared.

Exodus from the South

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the plight of the Negro in the United States was at an all-time low. His problems were compounded by immigrant laborers and farmers who, fleeing persecution and poverty in their native Europe, poured into the United States by the hundreds of thousands during the first two decades. The Negro American could not compete with the white newcomer for the jobs they both needed, with the result that as the number of immigrants rose, the value of the Negro on the labor market went down.

Then came World War I. Immigration fell to a trickle, and the demand for manpower rose in plants busy with war orders. The small but steady stream of Negro families leaving the southern farmlands for greater opportunities in the towns and cities of the North became a migratory wave. Between 1915 and 1918 more than 500,000 left for the

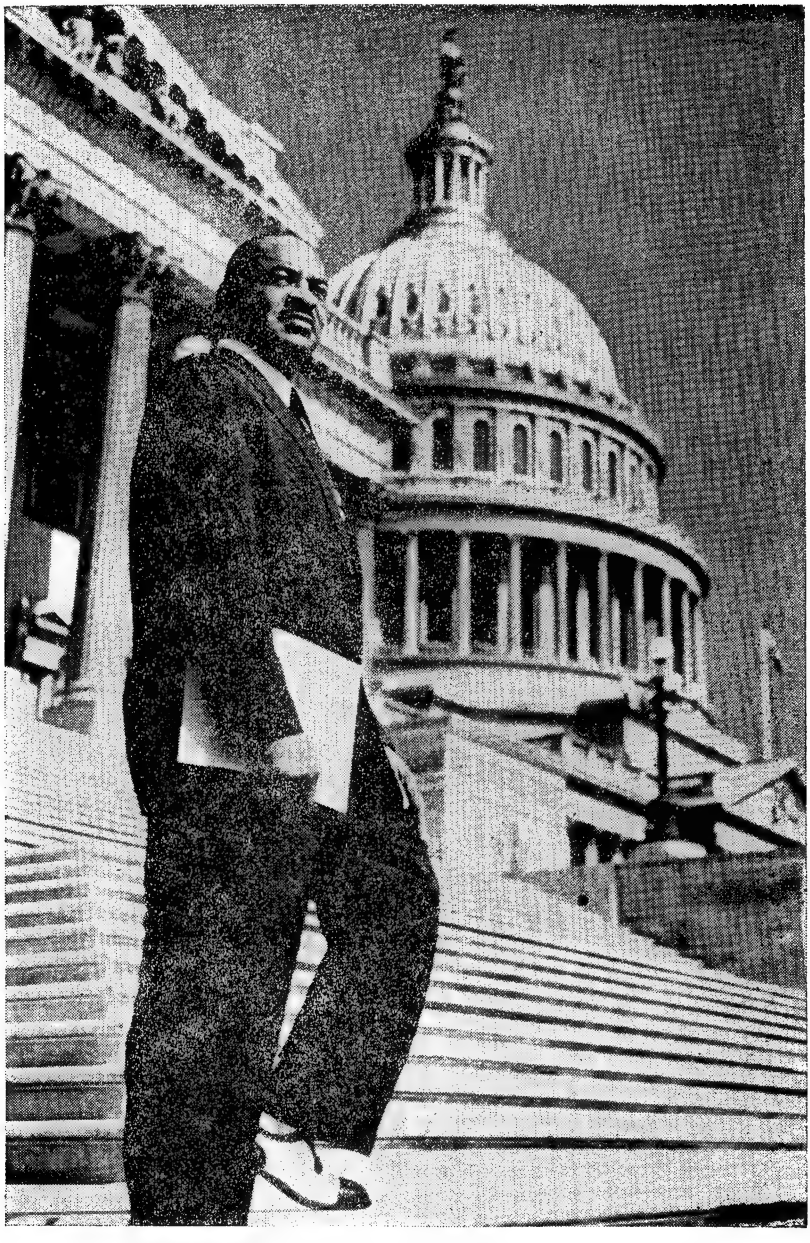
heavily industrialized North and Midwest, and the exodus continued even after the war had ended. Growing industrialization of the whole country kept the demand for manpower high at the same time that new restrictive legislation limited the influx of immigrant labor. The depression of the 1930's slowed briefly the Negroes' infiltration to the North, but it was resumed on an even heavier scale during World War II.

The sweeping change this meant for Negro Americans may be shown in a few comparative statistics. The census of 1900 gave the total Negro population as just under 9,000,000. It was in 1910 that the Negroes began their northward migration in earnest, and at that time no city in the United States had a Negro population of more than 100,000. In 1920, there were six cities with 100,000 or more, and in 1950, sixteen. The great bulk of the Negro population of the north is concentrated in the sprawling metropolitan areas of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit.

Between 1940 and 1950, from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 Negroes moved northward and westward, and by 1950 more than one-third of the Negro population resided in these areas. And not only were they moving to new locations, they were moving into new kinds of work. As late as 1940, Negroes made up fully half the farm working force of the South, but only 4.1 per cent elsewhere; in 1950, their numbers had fallen to 34.4 per cent in the South, and 2.1 per cent elsewhere. In other words, Negroes had moved out of agricultural occupations to the point where even in the South 65.6 per cent of them held non-agricultural jobs; elsewhere the percentage was 97.9.

The change did not come easily, in any respect. Leaving the segregated South, Negroes found themselves condemned to sub-standard living conditions in the towns and cities of the North and West. In those urban areas, their arrival simply added to the crowding of already crowded slums. Because there was no preparation, either on their own part or on the part of those into whose midst they came, tensions arose and occasionally exploded into tragic race riots. These occurred after World War I in St. Louis, Chicago and Detroit. During the depressions of the early 1920's and 1930's, Negroes were last hired, first fired. In such heavy industries as iron, steel and meat-packing, Negroes were barred as much by the hostility of white workers as by the policies of plant management and union officials. As a matter of record, Negroes got their first chance at jobs in these industries as a result of strikes called by white workers to force recognition of their unions.

Adversities were many, but despite hardship and suffering, the net result was a great step forward for most of the migrants. Their mass



Representative William L. Dawson of Illinois, one of four Negroes elected to serve in the present U.S. Congress, is indicative of the increasingly active part played by Negroes in American political life.

migration out of the South achieved greater economic opportunities, better educational facilities, higher civic and political status. In the broader contacts of urban living, their perceptions were raised and their cultural sights given new targets. And while their presence often created conditions and incidents which reflected unfavorably on the latent race prejudice of the average American, it also had a salutary effect on their white neighbors. Many of these came into contact with Negroes for the first time, thought about their plight, and became convinced that it was not a Negro problem, nor even a regional problem, but a national problem demanding national attention. The result was a sudden upsurge, led by the Negroes themselves, of demands for fairer treatment of America's largest minority: in schools, jobs, the courts, the armed services, the professions, and in social and medical services.

The Goal — Desegregation

Financial aid and moral support began coming in from all directions — from minority organizations formed to defend their own civil rights, from church groups and religious bodies of every creed, from student movements, professional associations, philanthropic societies, benevolent individuals. Books were written on the subject by both southern whites and Negroes; race relations in America became the subject of sociological research in universities both North and South; inter-racial conferences and commissions multiplied, and municipal race relations committees appeared in almost every community having any sizable Negro population. The stirrings of conscience were everywhere apparent.

The realization that the problem could not be attacked in piecemeal fashion, but rather had to be solved in the broad context of day-to-day living was underscored in the basic aims of the Southern Regional Council, one of the most effective of the secular race relations agencies. "Friction between the races," it declared, "can best be combated by bringing the entire population . . . abreast of modern standards in health, education, employment, farming and culture. To work toward the goal of a higher standard of well-being for all . . . is to work for equal opportunity for members of all races." With only a few professional staff workers, but with the assistance of many volunteers serving on special committees, the bi-racial Southern Regional Council educates and campaigns for action on behalf of civil rights, equalization of opportunity in education, employment and housing, and of facilities in medical care, transportation and public accommodations.

The same comprehensive goals were enunciated in the historic report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, appointed at the end of 1946. Composed of fifteen distinguished leaders representing

business, industry, labor, religious and civic groups, and assisted in their survey by hundreds of individuals and public and private agencies, this committee made an unsparingly objective appraisal of the status of civil rights in the United States. Its report, issued late in 1947 and recommending a comprehensive "Program of Action," undoubtedly gave enormous impetus to the formulation of the Civil Rights Bill of 1957 — the first such legislation to be enacted by Congress in 82 years.

The appointment of this committee by Presidential Executive Order in the first place was no doubt brought about by public mandate — by the crescendo of demand which had been building up through two World Wars, through cycles of depression and industrial expansion, and by the focusing of world attention on the United States as a first-rate power among the nations.

The Armed Services

In the past ten years desegregation has been advancing rapidly in many areas of American life. In the armed forces, however, it was accomplished so quickly and effectively as to constitute, as the "New York Times" of February 14, 1954 expressed it, "one of the biggest stories of the twentieth century."

Though pressures for integration came from many sources, adamant opposition on the part of Army officials was still blocking action late in World War II. When the war broke out, there were three Negro officers and three chaplains in the Regular Army, and some 500 Negro Reserve and National Guard officers; few held rank higher than Captain. In 1940, a White House directive ordered that Negro organizations be established in each major branch of the service. The Air Force, until then closed to Negro applicants, established separate aviation cadet training quarters, but the Navy continued to assign Negroes as messmen and orderlies. Until 1942, the Marine Corps continued to bar them altogether. On January 5, 1943, William H. Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, resigned from the highest post a Negro ever held in the military establishment, giving as his reason the continuation of racial segregation in the armed services.

Mr. Hastie's action increased public pressure for integration, but little happened until the Battle of the Bulge in 1944, when the decimation of white troops forced a call for volunteer replacements, and Negroes moved into combat. Those who have studied their records were impressed by the very good account Negroes gave of themselves in this action. In that same year, a forthright statement appeared in the Army Service Forces Manual M-5, "Leadership and the Negro Soldier," foreshadowing the inevitable change. Orders were issued by the Secretaries of the Navy

and Air Force to abolish segregation in their branches of the service. But orders from above take time to seep down through the ranks, and World War II came to an end with segregation still firmly entrenched.

Following the war, a report called "The Utilization of Negro Manpower in the Post-War Army," issued in November, 1945, led to the establishment of a new policy in the following year — the all-Negro division was abolished and small Negro and white units were grouped together in larger ones. In July, 1948, Executive Order 9981 established the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services. Its report, issued in 1950, provided the philosophy and the working basis for the program of racial integration, with no restrictions as to racial quotas, that has proceeded with significant success in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. Though the time limit was set for June 30, 1954, integration was an accomplished fact long before, greatly hastened by the events of the Korean conflict. In that theater, Negro troops had once again been in combat beside white servicemen, under the integrated command of General Matthew Ridgway, and there, once again, the friction anticipated between Negro and white by entrenched opposition elements simply did not develop.

In domestic training centers integration had been started in 1950, at the beginning of the Korean War. And by the summer of 1952 the European command was, for all practical purposes, fully integrated, despite dire prophecies that it would take decades.

There are, of course, still local situations which furnish examples of far from complete equity, but the movement throughout the services is all toward it, and Negro Americans are responding with enthusiasm. The number of Negro officers and enlisted men in training schools has more than doubled and the percentage of Negroes to whites has increased in nearly all branches of the armed services. Current policy of the Department of Defense is toward the elimination of all racial statistics but, in 1953, the last year for which such data on Army schools is available, Negroes attended 83 per cent of the courses, an increase of 10 per cent in just two years. In all branches, Negroes hold responsible posts both on the staff and in the field, and are rapidly advancing to top echelons through routine promotions. Almost all school facilities and civilian employee accommodations, at both Army military bases and Navy installations, are today operated on an integrated basis.

The gains made by Negro Americans during the past decade on the civilian front — in education, jobs, social mobility — have been clearly reflected in their armed services performance. Toward the end of World War II only 18 per cent of Negro enlisted strength held the rank of

The Girl Scouts of America is one of many national organizations bringing together young people of all races and faiths. These two Scouts, both from Pennsylvania, are shown camping out together at a national meeting.

sergeant or higher, as compared with 31 per cent for whites. By the end of 1955, 28 per cent of Negro enlisted men were in the top three non-commissioned grades, and the percentage had dropped to 26 for white enlisted men. Just recently, President Eisenhower nominated Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Deputy Chief of Staff at the advance headquarters of the U.S. Air Force in Europe, to the rank of Major General. If confirmed, General Davis will be the first Negro ever to hold so high a rank.

Today, both in the United States and overseas, racial integration in housing, transportation, religious worship, education, recreation and other aspects of community life is now the rule rather than the exception for military personnel, civilian employees and their families.

The Right to Vote

In the United States, the citizen's right to vote is conferred by the individual states. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution merely protect the citizen's franchise; they do not guarantee it. Thus it is that some of the southern states have, over the years, hedged this privilege about with many a devious legal stratagem. The various obstacles placed between the Negro and the ballot-box have, in many cases, transformed what should be every citizen's privilege to a goal impossible of attainment. Poll taxes, property ownership limitations, white primaries, literacy and other arbitrary tests, have all been used to achieve Negro exclusion from the polls. While these bars prevented thousands of white southerners from voting, this was accepted as an inescapable cost of reaching the main objective.

The sweeping effect of the poll tax was reported by the President's Committee on Civil Rights: in the 1944 presidential elections, 18.31 per cent of the potential electorate voted in the eight poll tax states, whereas 68.74 per cent voted in the forty states not having this requirement. Where Negroes are as free as the next man to exercise their rights as citizens, they register and vote in about the same proportion of the total population as other Americans, and this is the case today in 45 of the 50 states. Their active political participation in American life is reflected by their growing representation in government; some forty or more are serving in a dozen state legislatures, and four are members of Congress.

The story of the Negroes' struggle to achieve unhampered exercise of the vote lies therefore in the southern states, where they have been systematically kept from voting by a variety of devices. Among the most flagrant of these was the "grandfather clause," first enacted by Louisiana and Mississippi. These laws disfranchised any illiterate person unless he,

or an ancestor, had had the right to vote prior to the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. Since, as chattel slaves, Negroes in the South did not have the right to vote for emancipation, none of their descendants could ever be voters unless they were able to pass stiff and capricious literacy tests not required of whites who qualified as to ancestry.

The Supreme Court outlawed the "grandfather clause" in 1915. This was one of the first great victories of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its patient struggle to re-establish the Negroes' civil rights through legal action.

Eight years later, in 1923, Texas forbade Negroes to vote in primary elections. At that time, and in some states of the South even today where one party is entrenched in political control, the selection of a candidate in a primary election was equivalent to election. The NAACP also fought the "white primary" provision through the courts, winning Supreme Court decisions against it in 1927 and again in 1932.

Continued attempts were made to circumvent the effect of these decisions. In eight southern states the politicians themselves, in party conventions, voted unanimously to allow only whites to participate in party primaries. The struggle in the courts continued, and finally, in 1944, the Supreme Court ruled, "The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by the state because of race. This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election." The result of this decision was that, in the 1944 elections, Negroes voted in considerable numbers for the first time since the period immediately following the Civil War.

Some southern states abandoned the white primary, but not all. South Carolina called a special session of the legislature to remove from its constitution and statutes all reference to political primaries, hoping thereby to give its politicians the status of a private club, and hence immune from the law. In a celebrated decision in 1948, ruling that the primary was an integral part of the state election machinery and hence subject to law, District Judge J. Waties Waring admonished South Carolina to "rejoin the union."

All kinds of ingenious evasions were tried by other southern states; some were struck down by the Supreme Court, some are still partially effective. But by the time Alabama passed the Boswell Amendment, which set up stringent educational requirements for voting and was outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1949, it had become obvious that the

temper of the nation had changed. This was especially true in the South, where more and more whites vigorously opposed further efforts to disfranchise Negroes. Many factors were responsible. Strong nation-wide campaigns in public education had been waged by Negro and white organizations on behalf of Federal legislation against the poll tax, lynching and discrimination in employment. Growing industrialization in the South, accompanied by increasing integraton of Negro workers into the trade union movement, together brought strong demands on the part of the electorate for a more enlightened outlook from the area's political representatives. World War II had brought an awareness on the part of intelligent Southern leadership that the United States was suffering the loss of international prestige because of its backward racial policies. And underlying all these factors, yet working concurrently with them, was the increasing determination of the Negro that he be allowed to exercise his full rights of citizenship.

Federal anti-poll tax laws have been passed four times since 1942 in the House of Representatives, each time by more than a two-to-one majority, and killed four times by Senate filibuster. But the steady pressure of enlightened public opinion has nevertheless had its effect, for of the original eleven states that levied a poll tax, only five retain it today — Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Virginia and Texas.

Access to the ballot-box has been further disencumbered for the Negro American by the Civil Rights Bill enacted by Congress in 1957. This law sets up a Civil Rights Commission to study current voting practices and the need for new legislation, removes the Civil Rights function from the Department of Justice and places it under the administration of a specially appointed Assistant Attorney General, and strengthens the protection of the right to vote afforded by existing Federal statutes.

In 1948 there were 750,000 Negroes registered for voting in the South, and in 1958 more than 1,300,000 — an increase of nearly 100 per cent in the ten years. While the figures are impressive, it must at the same time be realized that in many areas of the South there exists a profound apathy among Negroes toward this paramount responsibility of good citizenship. Many families can present a long history of non-participation in the elective process, dating from the period when the franchise was the privilege and prerogative of whites alone. To make alert, informed citizens of such families, many of whom have had little or no schooling, represents a challenging problem in civic education. Negro and white adults from rural areas of the South are being given considerate and competent help in understanding the rights, privileges and responsibilities of citizenship at such institutions as the Highlander

Big Bill Russell (no. 6) is one of many outstanding Negro athletes. A sensational basket-ball player for the University of San Francisco, Russell starred in the 1956 Olympic Games at Melbourne. He now plays with the professional Boston Celtics team.

Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, where friendly workshop sessions take the place of rigid classroom formality. It is a source of deep satisfaction to the Negro that he has, at long last, found a voice in government. To this satisfaction he may add a feeling of just pride that, in the words of the late Walter White, "he has gained strength through having won the rights he has achieved instead of having them given to him. Through his victory he has strengthened not only his own position, but that of democracy everywhere."

Employment

Nothing is more fundamental to a free society than a man's right to earn his living in a job for which he is qualified. The many disabilities under which the Negro American has lived, including a lack of opportunity for education and training, have all had an effect on his earning capacity. Even as late as 1956, the U.S. Bureau of the Census reported that the median family income for Negroes was $2,628, as against $4,993 for whites. Comprising just over 10 per cent of the population, the Negroes' share of the gross national income has been estimated at between three and four per cent.

Though other minority groups have their own problems in this respect, the greatest obstacle to a good job has been the color bar. Estimates made in April, 1958, based on figures extended from the 1950 census, showed a striking difference between the occupations of whites and Negroes. At that time, 60.1 per cent of the latter were employed as farmers, farm laborers, common laborers, domestics or service groups. Only 5.5 per cent of Negroes were skilled craftsmen, against 15.3 per cent of whites. And the discrimination was not only in types of work, but in rates of pay for similar work, as well.

Negro protest became articulate in 1925, when A. Philip Randolph organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids. This strong group, with a nation-wide membership, has ever since spearheaded the battle against job discrimination within the trade-union movement. The policies of the unions had been patchy, ranging from outright exclusion by some organizations to full acceptance by others. They varied also in actual exclusion techniques: some barred Negroes by constitutional provision, others by tacit consent; some accepted them, but only as segregated units. Fearing competition for their jobs, white workers were more adamant in their prejudices than either the union leaders or the employers. Said a government report issued in 1946, "When challenged, private industry eliminated discrimination much more readily than did the unions."

Through 1940 and 1941, as war orders piled up and labor shortages

mounted, failure to use the reservoir of Negro manpower became a matter of national concern. In June of 1941, President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 created the first Fair Employment Practices Committee, and in the five years of its existence, this committee, backed by a widespread public campaign on behalf of a Federal fair employment practices law, enabled hundreds of thousands of Negroes to enter the labor market, particularly in the skilled and semi-skilled crafts. By 1949, public demand for an end to racial barriers had risen so clamorously that 53 national organizations, representing the church, labor, fraternal and minority group affilations of some 18,000,000 Americans, answered the call of the NAACP to join in a civil rights mobilization.

Simultaneously, the battle was being carried to the courts, and in a few states racial bias, exercised either by unions or employers, was outlawed. Significant of great change in the south was a decision of the Federal District Court of Alabama in 1950, which found a railroad and the union representing its locomotive engineers and firemen guilty of bias, and awarded the Negro complainants full damages covering the wages they would have earned had they not been refused jobs because of their race. In the absence of any Federal fair employment practices legislation, states and municipalities began to pass their own laws and ordinances, some with enforcement provisions and others putting their faith in persuasion at the conference table. Today, there are sixteen states, with a total population as of the 1950 census of more than 73,000,000 (of whom some 3,500,000 are Negroes) that have fair employment practice laws.

The executive branch of the Federal government has continued in its efforts to counter the passivity of the legislative branch. President Truman's Executive Order 10308, issued in 1951, created a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, consisting of representatives of five official government agencies, and charged it with seeing that anti-discrimination clauses were inserted in all contracts let by the government. A similar committee with even stronger powers, having Vice President Nixon as chairman, was created by President Eisenhower when he came to office.

Today the unions themselves, despite repeated vigorous protests by Southern delegates, are showing a strong militancy in their support of integration. On May 18, 1956, the Textile Workers' Union voted to support school integration and to condemn White Citizens' Councils — and this despite the fact that 70 per cent of the members of one of its local unions were actually members of the White Citizens' Council! In that same week, leaders of the united labor movement in the United

States launched a campaign for union funds to fight anti-Negro discrimination and other violations of civil rights. To A. Philip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and himself a Negro, fell the honor of making this important announcement public.

Another far-reaching step toward equality of job opportunity was taken in 1957, when the United Automobile Workers and the National Urban League announced an agreement to eliminate racial discrimination in all industries in which the union has collective bargaining contracts. From these developments, it seems entirely reasonable to expect that, for the Negro, access to the craft or occupation of his choice is more likely to be via the route of union membership than through legislation. In addition to helping him get the job in the first place, the union can help to insure the fair wages, job protection and seniority rights that make the job worth having.

Education

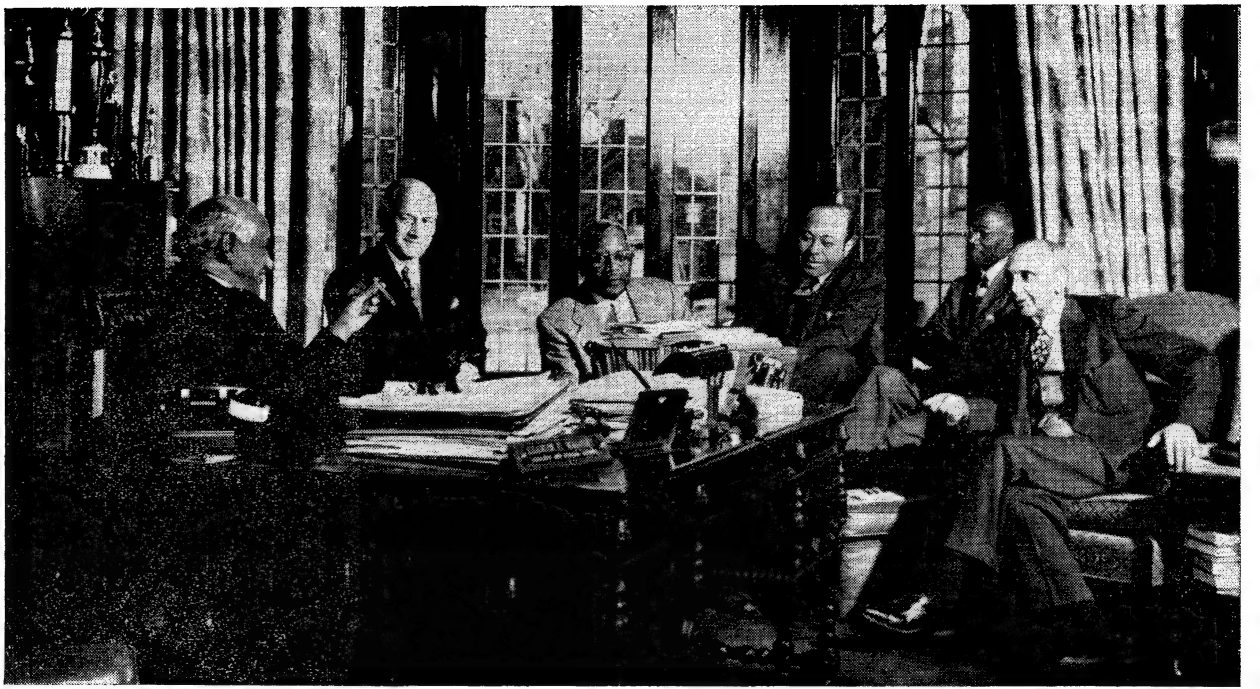
The greatest step forward in the Negroe's long march toward full equality has been taken in this decade, in the field of education — the sphere in which he has always suffered the most acute deprivation.

Throughout the years, there has never been any attempt to provide equal facilities for the Negro under the various systems of segregated education in the South, as early reports from both government and private agency sources prove. In 1920, a study by the National Education Association revealed that South Carolina was spending $45.45 annually to educate each white child, and $4.48 for each Negro. The differential was almost as great in other southern states: in Alabama, $37.63 and $5.45; in Louisiana, $46.67 and $8.02. Even by 1932, North Carolina was spending $49.40 for each white and only $9.24 for each Negro.

Negro schools throughout the area were inferior; Federal and state allotments for education were seldom distributed fairly by local school administrations; Negroes consistently got little or none of the funds to which their school census entitled them. Salary scales for Negro and white teachers showed the same wide gap.

The first attempts to achieve equal school facilities for Negroes were begun in the courts in the 1930's, accompanied by local, state and national efforts to educate Americans to the facts. The initial results were reflected in a steadily decreasing differential in per capita school expenditures, so that by 1952, the comparison for South Carolina was $159.34 and $95.65; in Alabama, $127.72 and $102.65; in North Carolina, $152.20 and $128.67.

The situation was bad at the elementary school level; above that it was even worse. Efforts to provide Negroes higher education were few



Charles H. Mahoney, the first U.S. Negro to serve as a full delegate to the United Nations, discusses policy matters with the executive commitee of his Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in Detroit, Michigan.

and feeble. In the city of Atlanta, one of the largest in the South, the first high school for Negroes was opened in 1917. Such state colleges as there were for Negroes offered principally vocational training; graduate and professional schools were virtually non-existent. Beginning with grade school, the quality of education offered Negroes was much poorer than that extended to whites, but at the university and graduate level, there was no pretence of separate but equal facilities. So it happened that segregated schools were first challenged at the graduate professional level and not, as white, Southern-born Judge Waring thought they should have been, "in the elementary schools, where our future citizens learn their first lesson to respect the dignity of the individual in a democracy."

In their efforts to keep Negroes out of the white universities, most southern states adopted a system of out-of-state scholarships, whereby they made up out of public funds the difference between what it would cost a Negro student to study in his home state and what it cost him to get his schooling elsewhere. This was, among other objections, a prohibitively expensive procedure; several court decisions also found it an illegal method of providing higher education. In 1938, in the case of Lloyd Gaines v. University of Missouri Law School, the Supreme Court ruled it a violation of the "equal rights" provision of the Constitution.

In this, as in other instances, white university students have shown themselves to be ahead of their elders in the struggle for equality. When Missouri set up a makeshift law school at the Negro Lincoln University the following year to provide for Mr. Gaines' higher education, members of the University of Missouri student body joined the picketing demonstration in protest. When the Supreme Court, in 1946, ordered the University of Oklahoma to admit Ada Lois Sipuel, a Negro graduate student, to its law school, and the state attorney general refused to permit the Board of Regents to comply, white students numbering over a thousand staged a huge demonstration in protest at the delay, solmenly burned the Fourteenth Amendment, and mailed the ashes to the President of the United States to show their indignation against the exclusion of Negroes from the university. The Sipuel case was won in its second argument before the Supreme Court, Miss Sipuel was finally admitted "on a segregated basis" and was graduated in 1952.

But on June 5, 1950, the Supreme Court handed down two decisions which virtually outlawed segregation at the graduate and professional level.

In the case of G. W. McLaurin, who took to the Federal courts his protest against the University of Oklahoma's requirement that he sit apart from white students in the classroom, the Supreme Court ruled that

"having been admitted to a state-supported school, he must receive the same treatment at the hands of the state as students of other races." A more detailed report of what happened may be of interest as an example of the way integration often takes its quiet, natural and unpublicized course in the South. A poll taken on the campus while the case was pending in court showed that a minority of undergraduates favored integration, but that at the graduate level a majority were in favor. But since most of those not in favor had really "no strong feelings one way or the other," and those in favor of joint education worked wisely and sensitively to further the process of integration once the court decision had been made, Mr. McLaurin was made to feel at ease at once by both faculty and students. Later, a student reporter wrote, "Since the Supreme Court's decision about 500 Negroes have attended the University of Oklahoma, and I know of no 'incident' that has occurred on our campus."

In the other case, in 1946, Heman Sweatt applied to the University of Texas Law School, and the state court gave the University six months to create a law school for Negroes which could be deemed substantially equal to its own. This was done, but Mr. Sweatt refused to enter. Instead, with the aid of NAACP attorneys and the testimony of anthropologists, educators, psychologists and other social scientists, he challenged the validity of the "separate but equal" doctrine. It was the first time since the celebrated Plessy v. Ferguson case in 1896 that segregation per se was attacked in the courts. The legal plea rested on three contentions: "that the Negro is as capable of learning as the white, that classification of students by race is arbitrary and unjust, and that segregation is harmful to personality development. In sum, they argued that no segregated Negro school could actually provide equal educational opportunity." The University of Texas was ordered to admit Mr. Sweatt, and the court's opinion pointed out that not only was the Negro law school inferior, but that "the University of Texas Law School possesses to a far greater degree those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school. Such qualities, to name but a few, include reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige."

The same basic arguments were advanced in the five elementary school cases which the NAACP brought before the Supreme Court in 1952. Directly challenging the Plessy v. Ferguson dictum, the NAACP pointed out, "We have held that segregation per se is unconstitutional. Should the court uphold this point of view, it could mean that all laws requiring or permitting racial segregation in schools, transportation,

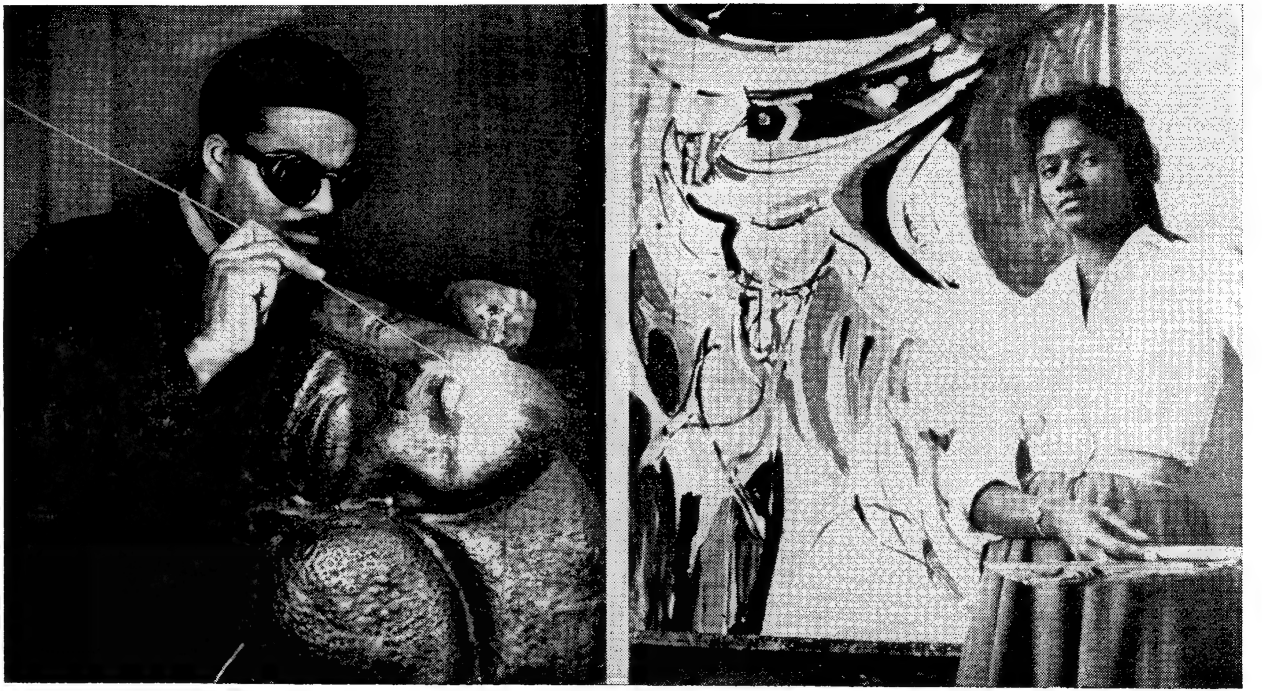
recreation, shelter and public accommodations generally would ultimately be invalid."

Evidence presented in these cases included a massive array of scientific findings as to the effect of segregation on the development of the child. A lower court had already admitted, in one of the cases, that in the face of such evidence, "segregation with the sanction of law . . . has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children" and that segregated education could not offer real equality of education. Nevertheless, it followed precedent and ruled for segregated schooling, provided the facilities were equal.

Actually, the way in which these public school cases were presented was a crystallization of developments that had been taking place throughout the country. At the White House Conference on Children and Youth in 1950, attended by hundreds of educators, social scientists and social workers, some of the nation's leading white sociologists had presented evidence of the adverse effects of prejudice on personality development, not only for the victim but for the prejudiced person as well. These findings were basic, of course, to any study of the effect of racial segregation in the schools, so that by the time the NAACP presented its plea before the Supreme Court, it was backed by a wealth of research data compiled by twenty or more sociologists. Other organizations — among them religious, labor, veterans, teachers and civil rights groups — came into the case as friends of the court, submitting briefs in support of the NAACP position.

The Supreme Court's decision on the cases, given on May 17, 1954, asserted, "We cannot turn the clock back to 1868, when the (Fourteenth) Amendment was written, nor even to 1896, when Plessy v. Ferguson was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation." Then, referring to the newer insights which psychological studies have made available as "modern authority," the Court pronounced its epochal conclusion in these terms: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

It should be stated at once that in the United States, it is the function of the Supreme Court, and of the judiciary generally, to interpret the law, not to enforce it. It rests with the individual who conceives his rights to be infringed to retain counsel, take his grievance to the court of immediate competence and have his case adjudged on its merits. If judgment is rendered against him, he may then appeal his case through the higher courts according to established practice. This fact — that in



The interesting work now being done by Negro artists found in leading museums of the United States is illustrated here by the efforts of two young contemporary artists studying in Rome with fellowships, John Rhoden and Miss Barbara Chase.

our judiciary system the initiative always rests with the injured party — helps to explain why the lofty goals envisioned by the Supreme Court in its historic decision are still, after five years, so far from realization.

Though the movement for equal rights had been making gains throughout the nation for years, many were caught unprepared for the sudden shattering of the "separate but equal" doctrine by unanimous decision of the nation's highest court. In the South especially, where segregation had functioned for generations as a network of rules and customs designed to maintain white supremacy, many whites were appalled at the implications of racial equality in an integrated school system.

The Supreme Court took cognizance of the complexities that must inevitably accompany transition in its implementation decree, handed down a year later on May 31, 1955. It asked that integration take place with "all deliberate speed," and that the Federal district courts, which were given jurisdiction over lawsuits enforcing desegregation should be guided by considerations of "practical flexibilty."

For fifty-eight years Plessy v. Ferguson had held sway, and the evils it nurtured had taken root in the manners and mores of a quarter of the nation's area. It will not take that long to wipe out every sign of "separate" until only the "equal" remains, but it will take time, patience and understanding. And in a country as large as the United States, with a population estimated at 176,000,000 at the end of 1958, it is often very difficult — sometimes impossible — to see the larger trend because it is so easily obscured by the smaller, more immediate currents that capture news headlines and the world's attention.

Where do we stand today, as a nation, five years after the Court's momentous decision? We find that, in most sections of the country, the development was expected, and therefore largely discounted and prepared for in advance. We find, as was to be expected, that there are also pockets of intransigent resistance to the desegregation order. But one of the most astonishing things we find is that this long overdue step along the road toward maturity as a nation has had the effect of breaching the once solid South. The Segregation laws it now appears, were the last ignoble strands that bound these states in an uneasy alliance.

At the time of the Court's decision, eighteen states, and the District of Columbia, either required or permitted segregation in the schools. These included, of course, the eleven states which once made up the Confederacy. Today, in the so-called border states — Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma — integration at all levels is proceeding in at least some of the school districts, and the District of Columbia is integrated 100 per cent. Texas, once part of

the solid South, also falls in this group. In Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and Florida, education is integrated at the university level but segregated in the lower grades. Only four states, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina, still maintain complete segregation at all levels.

It is perhaps well to present the events which took place in Little Rock, Arkansas, during the fall of 1957 in some detail — not because they were of lasting extent or importance, but because, during a period of violent emotional disturbance, they received world-wide and disproportionate publicity.

Little Rock, a small and relatively obscure city in the mid-South section of the United States, suddenly became a part of everyday conversation in Europe, Asia and Africa as the fall school term opened in September, 1957. At issue was the constitutional authority of a state versus that of the Federal government, and at stake was the safety of a number of school children caught in a web of threatened violence. The city of Little Rock was obscure no longer — it had become not only a symbol of vicious racism but an astonishing illustration that grown men and women were not ashamed to terrorize school children.

The constitutional issue was resolved on September 24th (exactly three weeks after Central High School in Little Rock opened for the fall term) when President Eisenhower ordered federal troops to the city to prevent interference with a federal court decree ordering the admission of Negro pupils to the school.

The first indication of a critical situation in Little Rock occurred when Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus, on August 29th, testified in a chancery court hearing that violence would result from integration at Central High School. The Governor's request for an injunction to halt the planned school integration was granted by the chancery court judge. Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann branded the Governor's allegation of threatened violence a "hoax." Likewise, Chief of Police Marvin H. Potts declared that he hadn't heard "what Governor Faubus says he has heard." On August 30th, United States District Court Judge Ronald N. Davis nullified the chancery court injunction and issued a blanket injunction against any interference with the integration plan. Then, in a surprise move, Governor Faubus announced on September 2nd, the eve of the opening day of school, that he had ordered the Arkansas National Guard to surround Central High School because of "overwhelming evidence of impending disorder which could lead to violence and even bloodshed."

Uncertain of the effects of the Governor's action in calling out state troops, the Little Rock school board went to Judge Davies on September

3rd for advice. The federal jurist stated that he would take Governor Faubus' action as "preservator of the peace" at face value, and ordered the school board to proceed forthwith with integration. Following the school board's advice, the Negro students had stayed away from the school on September 3rd.

On September 4th, nine Negro pupils selected from among 50 applicants for transfer to Central High School (from the all-Negro school) attempted to enter their new school, but were turned back by 270 armed National Guardsmen acting under orders from Governor Faubus. Informed of the situation, Judge Davies asked the United States Attorney's office to investigate and determine responsibility for the interference with his orders; agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation went to work, and Governor Faubus immediately complained to President Eisenhower of "unwarranted interference." Responding to the Governor's complaint, the President on September 5th telegraphed the state executive that the United States Constitution "will be upheld by every legal means."

Caught in a confusing cross-fire as a state executive used armed troops to defy the Federal government, the Little Rock school board requested a delay in integration at Central High School. On September 7th, Judge Davies ruled that court decrees could not be flouted, whatever the pretext. Two days later, he called upon United States Attorney general Herbert Brownell, Jr., to enter the case as a "friend of the court," and to seek an injunction against Governor Faubus and the National Guard officers.

After accepting a summons to appear in court on September 20th, Governor Faubus traveled to Newport, Rhode Island, for a conference with President Eisenhower, arranged by Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas. Following his September 11th meeting with the President, the Governor announced that he "would obey valid court orders," but the state troops remained at Central High School to bar the entrance of Negro students.

September 20th was a turning point in the governmental crisis. Judge Davies enjoined Governor Faubus and two National Guard officers from obstructing integration at Central High School. Three hours after this ruling, the Governor called off the National Guard, saying he would comply with the federal injunction "until its certain reversal in court."

The last chance for the high school to be integrated without direct federal intervention occurred on September 23rd. Although the nine Negro pupils entered the school unseen through a side door for morning classes, they were withdrawn three hours later to appease a shouting

Marian Anderson is shown receiving the latest in her impressive list of honors, the title "Woman of the Year," conferred by the New York City branch of the American Association of University Women (AAUW). Following her highly successful concert tour in Asia, Miss Anderson was appointed an American delegate to the United Nations General Assembly.

mob of some 1,000 people whom the police did not control or disperse. The children escaped unharmed, but several Negro and white newspaper reporters, magazine writers and cameramen were assaulted by the mob. Following these outrages, Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas State Conference of NAACP Branches, announced that the Negro children would not attempt to enter the school again until better protection was assured. That evening, President Eisenhower issued a Proclamation warning the Arkansas mob to attempt no further interference with integration at the school. He called the Little Rock events "disgraceful" and declared, "It will be a sad day for this country — both at home and abroad — if school children can safely attend their classes only under the protection of armed guards." The Presidential Proclamation commanded "all persons engaged in . . . (the) obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith . . ." When mobs still gathered in the vicinity of Central High School on the following morning, and the Negro pupils did not appear at the school site, the President ordered federal troops to the Arkansas city.

On September 25th, the troops under the command of Major General Edwin A. Walker prevented a mob from forming in the vicinity of Central High School. Civilians in the area who did not move quickly to obey troopers' orders were hastened by physical means; one man was pricked by bayonet when he seemingly attempted to wrest away a trooper's weapon. The nine Negro students were placed in an Army vehicle for conveyance to and from the school and were escorted by soldiers while on the school grounds. Acting to prevent any retaliation by Negroes to mob provocations, Clarence Laws, NAACP field secretary assigned to Little Rock during the school crisis, issued a message to the Negro population of Little Rock which said in part, "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People deplores violence or vandalism whether committed by white or Negro persons. We call upon all Negroes to refrain from retaliation of any kind."

Peace and integration had come to Little Rock. That evening, (September 25th) President Eisenhower addressed the nation by radio and television, reviewing his actions and the reasons for them. He pointed out that "certain misguided persons, many of them imported into Little Rock by agitators, have insisted on defying the law and have sought to bring it into disrepute. The orders of the courts have thus been frustrated." The President warned that "it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed to the safety, of our nation and the world." The following evening, speaking on a nation-wide television hook-up, Governor Faubus complained that

Arkansas had become "an occupied territory."

At year's end, federal troops still remained in Little Rock to prevent further outbreaks — but Governor Faubus was to have his inning. In the fall of 1958, the four high schools in Little Rock were summarily closed, leaving 2,915 white and 750 Negro pupils to the uncertainties of makeshift private schools or to inadequate correspondence courses.

But the prospect of closed public schools has not proved pleasing to the parents and students of the Little Rock area. In recent elections segregationist-minded school board officers were defeated by moderates, who emphasize the importance of public education above other considerations. And in a recent decision, a three-judge Federal court declared an Arkansas state school-closing law unconstitutional.

A few of the southern states have outdone each other in the evasive statutes writen into the books of their respective legislatures — all together more than 200 anti-desegregation laws have been passed since 1954. These have included special pupil placement laws, realignment of school districts, relaxation of compulsory attendance for pupils, conversion of public schools to private status. The great bulk of these have neither been implemented nor tested; of those which have, the only ones to stand up before the Federal courts were those providing for pupil placement. Until last year, probably most white southerners doubted that any of their public schools would actually be closed. But this confidence was destroyed when the high schools in Virginia's Norfolk, Charlottesville and Front Royal abruptly shut down.

Unlike most of the countries of Europe, where the entire educational system is under the direct control of the government, the United States leaves to the states and their local boards the formulation of curricula and the administration of the school system. Thus the Supreme Court orders the desegregation of schools supported by public funds, but cannot order the states to operate an integrated public school system. Evasions will be many, but the losses to communities in which schools are closed will be incalculable.

The stark fact of closed schools has brought into existence an effective "third force," composed of parents of school children, citizens' groups dedicated to the preservation of the school system, and many white southerners who, until now, "had no strong feelings one way or the other." It will take time for this third force to effect reasonable compromises with fanatics who would throw out the baby with the bath water. Many children who don't know what the shouting is about will suffer from needless interruptions in their education. But the schools will re-open, and they will integrate. We may be sure that the ringing

Negro and white students study and socialize together at Lincoln University, Missouri. On many campuses, Negroes are gaining acceptance in social fraternities and sororities. They are especially active participants in local and national student organizations, particularly the National Students Association (NSA), which has had Negroes elected to its highest offices.

oratory hurled from legislative rostrums in defiance of the nation's laws, by those few who are practiced in the monotony of filibuster, makes but faint echo in their private convictions.

Housing

All the resistance to integration is not in the South. In the economic and social spheres the North extends the political and legal segregation of the South. Many forms of exclusion have been reinforced by housing conditions and zoning anomalies which prevail from coast to coast, so that segregated living has become a pattern even where the laws forbid it.

Negroes in the higher income brackets have been able to build or purchase homes in cities or suburbs, both North and South, with relative freedom, especially since 1940. Sometimes there has been active opposition, sometimes only a sullen silence said they were unwanted. Sometimes there has been friendliness, too, as in the northern community of Teaneck, New Jersey, where the neighbors got together to stop the panic selling of their homes, and eventually formed a Teaneck, New Jersey Civic Conference, one of whose aims was to help white and Negro neighbors become better acquainted. In many instances, however, Negroes cannot afford to rent or buy in good areas, and have therefore been forced to live either in Negro districts or in areas which have become run down, and from which whites were already moving.

The restriction of Negroes to circumscribed residential areas has been very effective, despite the failure of residential segregation statutes to stand the test of law. On separate occasions, Louisville, New Orleans and Richmond tried to enforce segregation in housing through city ordinance, but all were declared by the Supreme Court to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In their place, however, came the restrictive covenant, originally a clause in contracts between private property owners binding them not to sell or rent to persons not of the white race. The covenant became a most popular device, ultimately extended to exclude any group deemed undesirable by the owners on the ground of race, religion, or whatever. A long and expensive series of court cases eventually won Supreme Court decisions to the effect that restrictive covenants could not be enforced by courts or official government agencies, nor were damages for breach of such covenants collectible through the courts.

Other methods were found to make it difficult for Negroes to live elsewhere than among Negroes. Real estate dealers entered into private agreements among themselvs not to show, sell or rent to Negroes. Banks and mortgage loan companies refused to lend money to Negroes for building or buying in white areas. The Federal Housing Authority itself

had a clause in its operating manual instructing banks to insure mortgages in "racially homogeneous" sections only. After years of unremitting effort on the part of the NAACP and supporting organizations, this clause was finally removed. Although it is illegal to use them for racial restriction, zoning laws are often used today to ward off the "invasion" of a neighborhood by "undesirables." Examples may be found in Miami and Philadelphia, where land on which Negroes planned to build homes was abruptly re-zoned for industrial purposes.

Despite capricious zoning ordinances and "tight" mortgage money, considerable progress in breaking up the old, segregated housing pattern has been effected in the field of slum area redevelopment and in new construction. Major gains have been in the area of public or publicly assisted housing, such developments having sprung up all over the country since World War II. New court rulings, and enlightened Federal, state and municipal ordinances regulating real estate transactions have made much of this new housing available to the Negro without restriction.

Administrative action includes such measures as refusal of Federal aid in the construction of segregated housing projects. In Charlotte, North Carolina, this action resulted in the reversal by the City Council of its long-standing segregation policy. It includes action by many city Housing Authorities to eliminate segregation in their city housing projects, and an announcement by the Federal Housing Administrator in October, 1954 that Federal aid would be withheld from cities which "default on their obligations to minority citizens." Many states have passed laws forbidding segregation in any housing constructed with the aid of public funds; many city ordinances have done the same; New Jersey has barred discrimination in the granting of mortgage loans; the Ohio State Board of Tax Appeals has ruled that the arrival of Negro residents in a "white neighborhood" does not necessarily reduce property values.

Throughout the country there is a tendency to accept, without incident, the arrival of Negro neighbors in formerly "racially homogeneous" neighborhoods. In 1954, 87 per cent of all public housing in the District of Columbia was operating under an integrated policy, and there was no sign of friction as the program moved forward. In December of the same year, a study of 35 West Coast areas made by the University of California, including slum and heavily industrialized areas, reported the same quiet acceptance.

Community campaigns continue to press for and to achieve favorable government and private agency rulings on integrated housing. In November, 1950, the National Association of Real Estate Boards voted to change

Thurgood Marshall heads the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the organization which has been successfully leading a campaign against discrimination through the courts, particularly in the famed Supreme Court ruling of May 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools.

its code, which had theretofore held it unethical for a realtor to introduce new races into a neighborhood. In October, 1952, the builder of Philadelphia's first non-segregated private rental housing told the National Association of Housing that the enterprise was an outstanding success. And just two years later, Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations was able to report that 88 per cent of the City's Negro families and 22 per cent of its white families lived in sections having some racial integration.

A most significant victory for the forces of anti-discrimination was recorded in December, 1958, when the New York City Council passed an ordinance making racial and religious discrimination in private housing illegal — the first such measure enacted by any governmental unit in the country.

These are hopeful signs, and they are appearing more frequently as white Americans come to realize that the right to decent housing, though perhaps not a civil right, is most certainly a primary human right.

Transportation, Recreation, Public Accommodations

The struggle against travel segregation was initiated in the 1940's, when Negroes began winning damage suits for indignities visited upon them by railroads which insisted on their changing to Jim Crow cars when the trains entered southern states. The right to purchase Pullman accommodations had been won in the Supreme Court in 1940 in the Mitchell case, when the Court decided that "equal though separate" accommodations had to be made available. A ruling of even greater significance to most Negroes was the 1946 Supreme Court decision that state segregation laws did not apply to interstate passengers on interstate buses. Three years later a Court of Appeals decision asserted the corollary that neither could an interstate carrier impose its own segregation rules on passengers. In 1950 the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in dining cars on interstate railroads, and in 1955 the Interstate Commerce Commission banned segregation on interstate railroads, including waiting rooms at local stations.

Compliance with these new regulations did not come overnight; nevertheless, desegregation in the country's transportation systems has been taking place with gathering momentum during the last five years. The by now celebrated boycott of the bus lines in Montgomery, Alabama, stands out sharply against a background of confused issues for two reasons: first, it was an orderly, disciplined and effective method of protest against unfair treatment; secondly, like the Little Rock school case, it was prominent by reason of its very isolation.

On December 1, 1955, a bus driver in Montgomery asked that Mrs.

Rosa Parks, a Negro, give her seat in the section of the bus ordinarily reserved for white people to a white woman. She refused. Four days later Mrs. Parks was convicted of violating Alabama's bus segregation law and fined $14. That same day a Negro boycott of the buses began, and almost immediately was more than 90 per cent effective. Negroes either walked to their work or shopping, or organized automobile co-operatives.

From the beginning, Protestant ministers of the Negro community were leaders of the movement. Their influence was evident in the peaceful character of the boycott and the emphasis on kindness to those who were unjust.

The Negroes asked that seating in buses be on a "first come, first served" basis, that Negro drivers be employed on routes passing through predominantly Negro districts, and that bus personnel treat Negroes with respect. The bus company offered some concessions but would not fully agree to "first come, first served" seating, or to the hiring of Negro drivers. The boycott continued, and the bus company, forced to curtail service and raise fares, has lost many thousands of dollars.

Discrimination in public facilities — parks, swimming pools, golf courses, theaters, hotels and restaurants — is also being eliminated at an increasingly rapid pace. In 1949, the United States Department of the Interior prohibited discrimination and segregation in any activity or facility conducted in parks and public swimming pools of Washington, D.C. A few years later that city, by enforcing an 85-year-old anti-discrimination law which had been allowed to lapse, ended segregation in all places of public accommodation. In Dallas, Texas, the Park Department banned segregation on public golf courses; in Columbus, Ohio, the Ohio Turnpike Commission announced it would not publicize any place along the Turnpike which practiced racial discrimination.

In 1952, a city ordinance in Albuquerque, New Mexico, outlawed racial discriminations in public accommodations. In Springfield, Illinois, the state legislature barred tax exemption for any hospital found guilty of discriminating against patients because of race, color or creed. In May, 1951, in New York City, unions representing more than 70,000 restaurant employees, and management associations comprising more than 1,500 restaurants, pledged equal treatment of patrons regardless of race.

The principle that "separate but equal" facilities are inherently unequal, used as the basis for the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation on the schools, is now being applied to other areas. In decisions of the courts, in state legislatures and city councils, rulings

That gala American spectacle, the "Beauty Contests," now segregates only according to beauty: the prettiest girl wins.

favorable to the Negro are multiplying: municipalities, organizations of all kinds and private citizens everywhere are taking voluntary action so that, beyond the noisy clamor of those who would obstruct justice and fair play, no alert observer can be unaware of the concerted effort to rule out segregation from every aspect of American life.

If Proofs Were Needed

Freed, at least in some measure, from the stigma of ostracism and the injustice of discrimination, Negro Americans have recognized no limits to their own progress, nor to the extent of their contributions to society. There is scarcely an area of American life that has not been enriched by Negro participation; so pervasively outstanding are their achievements that it is hard to escape the conclusion that, given equal opportunity, the Negro need seldom yield the palm to his white counterpart.

Since Negro contributions are so numerous, and the fields in which they are made so diverse, there is space to mention but a few of the more eminent Negroes in their respective callings. Well toward the top of any such list must be cited Dr. Ralph Bunche, Director of the Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories of the United Nations, and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1950. And no compendium of achievements in science would be complete without the names of Drs. George Washington Carver, Walter Hawkins and Percy Julian. All told, there are some 150 Negroes whose names are carried in "American Men of Science," and this despite the many organizations which do not permit the identification of their scientists by racial designation.

In the field of music, which transcends language for the soul's expression whether of lament or rapture, the Negro has found a medium well suited to his somber history in the United States. The voice of Marian Anderson has moved millions both in this country and abroad, and only lesser audiences those of Paul Robeson, Carol Brice, Lionel Hampton, William Warfield, Adele Addison and Dorothy Maynor. In demand wherever they appear are the Hall Johnson, Hampton Institute and De Paur Infantry Choruses, and perhaps there are as many collectors of Art Tatum and Fats Waller recordings as there are of Gieseking's Mozart Sonatas. Sporting events of all kinds have been made richer and more exciting by the exploits of Negroes. Jesse Owens in track and field; Althea Gibson in tennis; Robinson, Mays, Newcome and Campanella in baseball; Louis, Wolcott, Moore and the swaggering Sugar Ray Robinson in boxing; all have made friends and admirers in our own country and in lands across the sea.

The world of entertainment would be the poorer in more than numbers without the talents of Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington and Nat King Cole; or of Hazel Scott, Dorothy Dandridge, Ethel Waters and Lena Horne. And the list would become tiresome in the reading long before it became exhausted.

To sum up, in the words of a report from the National Urban League, "Negroes are behind the counters in stores throughout many parts of the country. They man machines in factories. They are foremen in shops. They are stenographers and secretaries in offices. They are operators and supervisors in telephone exchanges. They operate cameras in television studios. They are engineers and draftsmen. They are scientists and scientific technicians. They are internes, doctors (not just orderlies) and nurses in hospitals . . . attending white patients. They are lawyers, judges, bankers, merchants, business men — and not in their own enterprises alone, but working side-by-side with, sometimes even in charge of, whites. They are college instructors and professors at the most famous institutions of higher learning, teaching whites and Negroes alike. Negroes are in all kinds of positions — many of them important, key positions — in all sorts of business enterprises, helping not only to keeep this country great, but to make it more so."

And with every step forward the Negro takes, the whole nation moves ahead, for along with segregation many other, more suble forms of discrimination are being cast out. Every law against segregation, every Supreme Court decision, every municipal ordinance and Interstate Commerce Commission ruling, speaks not only of outlawing prejudice against Negroes, but bans discrimination against any person on the ground of race, color, religion or ethnic origin.

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